

# WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

## THE

# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

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### The Passing Show.

They are having a stirring time in Russia, and the government appears to be standing upon its "splendid isolation."

"Remember Belgium!" Yes—but don't forget the Kriaz Potemkin.

The Capitalist class have been laughing at the ignorance and stupidity of the working-class during the past three years, but he who laughs last laughs longest.

The four candidates of the Australasian Socialist Party, who are opposing the Labor-Liberal peddlers of bogus reforms in the New South Wales State elections are doing a good deal of propaganda, and much literature is being circulated. For some reason the Laborites apparently assured themselves that there would be no opposition from Socialist candidates, and are annoyed at not having the field to themselves and the other Capitalist party. There is no need to worry over whether the people of this State would be more capably misrepresented by one of the two old parties than the other. What we have to do is to continue Socialist propaganda and teach the workers to help themselves, instead of relying on the politicians to help them.

"Dave Hall says that Healy is a broth of a boy."—Powerful criticism by the publicity bureau of brothels and spicers known as Sydney "Truth."

Both of the old parties have confessed their political bankruptcy. Their inability to promise the mildest of mild reforms or to undertake some of those much advertised schemes of the past to develop the natural resources of the great country proves that. If the workers support either of them they will be merely proving their own bankruptcy of ideas.

Now consider the record of persecution, fines and jailing inflicted on the working class in the past by both Liberal and Labor governments.

When did the alleged Labor Party ever fail to use the coercive powers of the State against the working class engaged in a struggle for better conditions.

The Labor Ministers and Members who have graduated into the Liberal Party were returned by working class votes, and once worshipped as political saviours. They are now abused by their former supporters as "rats" and "renegades," but what guarantee is there that the members of the "reformed" Labor Party will not follow the same course?

Just upon going to press we have received news of the culmination of the revolution in Russia, and the "abdication" of Fellow-Worker Nikolai Nikolaievitch Romanoff. In spite of all efforts to hide the fact, it has been perfectly clear for a long time that the Russian people have been thoroughly discontented. Memories of the great revolution of 1905-1906 still stirred the soul of the people and in spite of all efforts of the bureaucracy to drown revolt in blood, it made great headway, and winning the army to its side, finally overthrew the government. Apparently, the Russian people accepted the statement that the government was fighting for liberty at its full value and determined to take a hand in the game themselves. We congratulate our Russian comrades on the only victory of the war—a victory of the people over reaction.

The British plutocracy will now have the option of endorsing a revolution and acquiescing in the forcible overthrow of an Allied sovereign or declaring the Russian people their enemies.

Of course, the world has advanced a lot since the days when Haroun-al-Rasheed traded the spices of the Orient for diplomatic privileges. Warships are now propelled by steam instead of the muscle power of galley slaves. Allah is great. So are the bone-heads who cannot see the real motives of master-class wars.

### The Paris Commune Its Lesson.

For a few short months in 1871 the working class of Paris rid themselves of the gilded human lice who fatten upon the woes of the common people, and the Parisians flew the red flag, the flag of freedom, equality, and humanity, the flag that must one day fly over a universe united into one common brotherhood.

As the Jingo has his Empire Day: the Christian his Christmas, so the Rebel has his 18th of March, a date he keeps in memory, not because it is a musty relic of what has been in an almost forgotten past, but because of what will be of the great future to come, the Universal Republic first declared by the Central Committee of the National Guard of Paris. On that day forty-six years ago, with the world looking on in amazement, the Paris working men proclaimed themselves free, and so ushering before the world the only working class revolution in history—the Paris Commune.

Of the birth and death of this Comedy of Blood, we know much, but of the lesson to be learned from it we know little. And in passing to review a few these lessons it cannot be forgotten that through all the years of the blood red annals of class persecution the atrocities committed in a few short weeks at the behest of Adolph Thiers, dictator of France, in crushing the Paris Commune, have been seldom paralleled and never outclassed.

The Commune, the model executive of the new society, was to have been copied by the workers of the world. Its creation marked an important step in the revolution, it being the stage when direct action fulfilled its mission of creating a new order of society. At this point revolutionary political action should have been used to abolish the class state and handed over the powers of coercion, military, police and judiciary to the control of the Commune, to be used if necessary against the Capitalist class and their lickspittle politicians and renegade supporters, and so have made the revolution a success. But as this was not done the efforts of the working class only gave the state a knock-out blow, temporarily depriving it of its balance, just as when one boxer knocks another to the boards. They took no precautions to prevent the state readjusting itself, as it did, gained strength and crushed them, turning their victory to a defeat. Direct action—organised industrial might can only partially accomplish the revolution as a complete revolution consists of two stages, the revolution and the reaction. The Paris Commune accomplished the first and neglected the second.

The Social Revolution of the future will bring the revolution by direct action and prevent reaction by political action by the working class political representatives abolishing the State (Parliament) and handing the machinery of State into the hands of the executive of the new order.

Country people are more conservative in their ideas, because their surroundings change slowly, they have not the intercourse of the city dwellers each with the other which make the latter more liberal. The city, with its ant-like life swarming amidst roaring machinery, black chimneys and blocks of masonry is the cauldron where the ferment of discontent brews revolt. The countryman hemmed in by distant hills, and so knowing little of the rushing world beyond his horizon, becomes a ready tool in the cause of reaction.

Adolph Thiers realised this difference in mentality between the rural and city-dwellers when he set about crushing the working men of Paris by engaging soldiers from Brittany and forming battalions of rurals. These, not understanding the aspirations of the workers, and

having no conception of the true state of conditions that produced such men and their aims, were easily convinced that the Parisians were libertines trying to destroy the welfare of the French people. By fraud and misrepresentation Thiers thus moulded the country people to his hand as an army ready to fight, as it thought, in the interest of liberty. Had the country folk known the real circumstances of the revolt in Paris, the tragic comedy of both sections of the people shooting each other down in the name of liberty would not have occurred.

The Capitalist daily press has become the Bible of the country people. "Why! I saw it in the paper!" is a criterion that settles all arguments. The countryman seldom hears any contradiction of what he reads in the daily press. Movements grow, develop and often die in the city. The countryman, knowing nought of them because the daily press can by silence keep him ignorant or poison his mind to any cause. As sure as the rustic people of France rallied in the seventies to the slogan of reaction, mistaking it for progress, the country people of the world in the future will organise and fight at the dictation of a reactionary capitalist press. And a few fossilised minds behind machine guns can do a great deal of damage to any cause. To prevent such an event Socialism has got to combat the influence of the capitalist press. The position of the cocky under capitalism has got to be studied as well as that of the wage worker. We have got to teach the cocky to revolt against capitalism if it be only to save our own skins.

It is natural the capitalist should seek the aid of the State when an attempt is made to deprive him of the control of his factories, for he will fail to see ahead the inducements of the new society, the coming of which he will view with suspicion, as a change to be resisted and overcome, for it threatens to take him out of the safe groove herein he has waddled. It takes him from the open country to the forest, where he has never been, so he hesitates to venture.

No longer cloaked by night are men able to meet at the chateau or manor, forge and heat into shape on a muffled anvil, pikes, spears and sabres, to enforce their rights. Barricades are little better than matchwood against modern cannon. The capitalist class will fight for the right to exploit, and we must be prepared to either fight or render them incapable of fighting us. The State owns the guns, and if we own the State, we will own weapons for defence and deprive the boss of means of assailing us. To seize industry is to court violence. The working class to every rifle it can purchase the capitalists can purchase ten machine guns, and of what avail are rifles against machine guns.

The Paris capitalists dreaded the armed working men, the National Guard, and fled to Versailles. They knew then, as they do now, the influence of force upon men and social systems, how the strongest quail and sacrifice their principles at the point of the rifle, and they will not hesitate to demonstrate this axiom if given the opportunity in the future. When they see that no longer any force of coercion is available to them they will become tranquil, humble, and obedient to the will of the common people. For if you hold the gun you can dictate the terms, if he holds it you have either to acknowledge him your superior or be shot.

The capitalist class is international when opposed by the common enemy, the working class, and although Adolph Thiers and his government were turned down by 80 to 1 (eighty to one) at the municipal elections, Bismarck ignored this mandate of the people, and negotiat-

ed with Thiers in the capitulation of France, because he represented the capitalists and royalty with their hangers on. Such an assembly as that of Versailles was the spawn of the few whilst the Commune was the product of the majority. But under capitalism a majority is always kept under by a minority.

Karl Marx, in his Civil War in France, demonstrates the class hatred of capital to labor in the following passage:—

"Then the long expected moment of decisive action had at last come for Bismarck. He peremptorily summoned Thiers to send to Frankfort plenipotentiaries for the definite settlement of peace. On the arrival at Frankfort of this exquisite pair of plenipotentiaries Bismarck met them with the alternative, 'Either the restoration of the Empire or the unconditional acceptance of my own peace terms!' The terms included a shortening of the intervals in which the war indemnity was to be paid and the continued occupation of Paris by Prussian troops until Bismarck should feel satisfied with the state of things in France. In return for this he offered to let loose, for the extermination of Paris, the captive Bonapartist army and to lend them direct assistance of Emperor William's troops. He pledged his good faith by making payment of the first instalment of the indemnity dependent on the pacification of Paris."

To-day the interest of the capitalist class is in every nation under the sun. German capital in France, French capital in Germany, English capital in Russia, Russian capital in Japan, and so on, the world being enshrouded in a tangled mass of capital. Making a revolt of the workers in one country affects the capitalists in another country, an upheaval, say, in Russia would affect the capitalists of England, Germany, France and America, i.e., any country from whence capital has been invested in Russia. Forty years ago the workers were suppressed by the combined capitalists of Europe. To-day were they to revolt in one particular country they would be opposed by the capitalist of the whole world. No national revolution can be a success. The workers must have an International understanding, an International organisation in order to prevent the crushing of one section by the combined forces of International capitalism. The working class revolution must be world wide, embracing all nations. The spirit of nationalism of thinking that I as a Britisher am superior to an Italian, Chinaman or a German, must be uprooted and burnt out by the flames of Internationalism.

Such are the more important lessons to be derived from the Paris Commune. A flower which raised its tender head, young and beautiful, with petals damp by the tears of millions of the oppressed through countless ages it sprang out of, and threw its fragrance over the desert sands to live for a moment, and die inundated by the sand-storms of reaction and class privilege. Scorched and withered by the orb of fire capitalism that burns to blackness the tender and the beautiful, the Commune has passed to oblivion.

It was a child with face innocent and clear that dared tell the sages of corruption, vice and inequality, of the error of their way, showing a nobler purpose to mankind than grinding each other into dust by class conflict. For demonstrating the truth the heel of class hatred and autocratic vindictiveness ground its flesh from the bone, and raising the skull on a bayonet point cried to the lovers of liberty: Behold your ideals, and beware!

But none can forget the Commune, the gem of history, red with the blood of 37,000 victims, springing from the crucible of time to dazzle the eyes of thinking men. For we can learn more from this red page than from all the other black blotted volumes of history. It is a lesson the revolutionist must heed and correct his course by the failure of the Commune, and thus steer the ship of society into the calm blue waters—the haven of Socialism.

WOODICUS.



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A slave has no property in his labor,  
and any man who is compelled to give up  
the fruits of his labor to another at the  
arbitrary will of that other has no prop-  
erty, and is, therefore, a slave, whether  
the fruit of his labor be taken from him  
directly or indirectly. If it be said that  
he gave up this fruit by his own will, and  
that it is not forced from him, I answer,  
"To be sure, he may avoid eating and  
drinking, and may go naked, but then he  
must die; and on this condition only can  
he refuse to give up the fruit of his  
labor."

WILLIAM CORBETT

## The Election.

### WHAT YOUR VOTE MEANS.

Election day draws near. The repre-  
sentatives of the old N.S.W. parties are on  
the hustings once again, and the air is full  
of vituperation, personal abuse and prom-  
ises.

"If Conscription is again raised," say  
the Liberals, "we will fight against it as  
bitterly as we formerly fought for it."  
"Can you trust the Conscriptionists?"  
say the Laborites, who INTRODUCED  
Conscription into Australia by their  
damnable Conscription (Defence) Act  
1910. The Labor Party is accusing the  
Liberals or Nationals of "stealing" the  
former's platform holus, and,  
strange to say, doesn't even seem pleased!

Can you imagine the "Nationals"  
stealing one plank, just one plank of the  
Socialist platform? For instance, "the  
social ownership of the means of produc-  
tion and distribution."

The Socialist Party has shown, year in  
and year out, that both these parties are  
at all intents and purposes, one and the  
same. Both believe that the present sys-  
tem of wealth-production and distribution  
for profit is BASICALLY CORRECT. Though  
both acknowledge that some slight sym-  
ptoms of disorder are apparent, starva-  
tion in the midst of plenty—crime and  
disease, slums and prostitution, strikes  
and lockouts—yet both the Libs  
and the Labs believe that remedies for  
these disorders can be applied without  
altering the BASIS of the system itself.  
Consequently both Liberal and Labor  
Parties are purely capitalistic parties, for  
they both stand for the perpetuation of  
capitalism, i.e., production for profit.

The Socialists tell you that the disor-  
ders outlined above, arise from the econ-  
omic fact, that the working class is rob-  
bed on the job, robbed at the point of  
production. Wealth to-day is SOCIALLY  
produced but PRIVATELY owned. You,  
working on the job, get back none of  
your product. Money-wages are given  
you to "blind" the robbery. Since the  
means of production are in private hands,  
the class that owns them OWNS you,  
since you are forced to work for that  
class, in order to live. Hence the swinish  
scramble for jobs, hence those disorders  
at home, hence rivalries among nations  
to dispose of the surplus goods which  
cannot be purchased with the wage-pit-  
tance, hence wars abroad.

What is the use of trying to deal suc-  
cessfully with the effects of the system  
if the cause is allowed to go untouched.  
For the last 20 years these parties have  
been advocating moonshine remedies like

# Candid Comment.

## On Certain "private" Matters.

### Some Facts For Socialists to Ponder.

I don't think we are getting nearer  
agreement on the above subject, but it  
may serve the purpose of interesting Soc-  
ialists in a hitherto neglected phase of the  
movement.

My critics in their reply of March 3rd  
again refer to religion as a "private mat-  
ter," but as a matter of fact orthodox  
Christians have never admitted religion to  
be a private matter, and were it not for  
the growth of scepticism and indifference  
and want of unity on their own part, they  
would enforce its observance to-day. To  
some extent they do so with Sunday laws  
and Blasphemy laws. My critics talk of  
"politics in ambush behind religion."  
Capitalist or ruling class politics is justifi-  
ed in doing so, because Christianity is a  
slave religion thoroughly individualistic  
and primitive in its ideas, affording a  
quite legitimate barrier against both  
Science and Socialism. It is only a bar-  
rier, however, to those who respect its  
claims. To us who are Materialists both  
the "ambush" and those behind it are re-  
cognised as obstacles and enemies to be  
overcome.

I do not think that the mission of a Re-  
volutionary Political Party is "to recruit  
the industrial organisation of Labor," but  
to organise for the capture of the political  
machinery of government, without which  
the "take and hold" can not be accom-  
plished. Once having control of the armed  
forces and the paraphernalia of govern-  
ment the rest is easy.

We are also informed that it is immat-  
terial what a man's opinion on ethics may  
be. Apparently the ethics of Capitalism  
like their religion can be harmonised some-  
how.

"A political organisation is not concern-  
ed with ethics." Have they ever read the  
definition of politics which says:—"Pol-  
itics—the science of government **that part**  
**of ethics** which has to do with the regula-  
tion and government of a nation or state  
... with the preservation and improve-  
ment of their morals." We all know that  
the morals of a people are subject to legis-  
lation.

Much if not most of the quotation of  
Reimer's remarks shows how much non-  
sense some persons can utter. Reimer  
might be able to distinguish between re-  
ligion and politics but not the Catholic  
Church. He is attributing to that crowd  
of mediaeval thinkers qualities they don't  
possess. This was clearly shown, when  
the Pope condemned Parnell's Plan of  
Campaign or No Rent policy on moral  
grounds.

Then I am told I am trying to unite  
the Materialist Conception of History with  
bourgeois materialism. What I am doing is  
insisting that a study of the dialectical or  
democratic materialism of Joseph Dietz-  
gen is necessary to thoroughly understand  
the meaning of the Materialist Conception  
of History. As Dietzgen well says:—  
"Whoever desires to be an intelligent  
Social Democrat must improve his  
method of thinking. It was mainly the  
duty of the improved method of thinking  
which helped the well known founders of  
Social Democracy Marx and Engels in  
raising Social Democracy to a scientific  
standpoint on which it finds itself now."  
I have always maintained that only a  
Materialist would have penned the Mate-

Fretrade, Protection, Fair Rents, Arbi-  
tration, Progressive Land Taxes, Natio-  
nalisation schemes, and now they are fin-  
ishing up with that glorious ideal "A fair  
day's work for a fair day's pay."

When are we going to get wise to the  
futility of all the schemes of these futile  
parties? We are concerned with only  
one issue, and we must FORCE that issue:  
Capitalism v. Socialism. Our slogan is  
"Labor is entitled to all it produces."  
The basis of all Freedom is Economic  
Freedom, the right to live and conse-  
quently the RIGHT to work. Till the  
working class through their Revolution-  
ary Industrial Unions, takes possession of  
the industries and socially-necessary  
wealth, the right to live must remain a  
dream.

Revolutionary Industrial Unionism and  
its political reflex are our keys to the  
position, are the weapons which will en-  
able a true Industrial Republic to func-  
tion in the future.

rialist Conception of History because not  
even the most liberal religionist will ad-  
mit its truth. Some of Dietzgen's state-  
ments show clearly his pronounced atti-  
tude. He says:—"The emancipation of  
the working classes requires that they  
should lay hold on the science of the cen-  
tury." "The universal significance of re-  
ligion for uncultured tribes is founded on  
the universal need for a systematic know-  
ledge of the world. Just as we generally  
have a practical need for the dominion  
over the things of the world, so do we  
generally have a theoretical need for a sys-  
tematic view of life." or, "we acknow-  
ledge that the need for a systematic view  
of the world is inherent in man who al-  
ways requires a canon for his thoughts  
and deeds," or "Socialism and Christian-  
ity differ from each other as the day does  
from the night," also, "It is incumbent  
upon social democracy to destroy both the  
religious and the scientific superstition."  
"Our Social democracy is the necessary  
outcome of a non-religious and sober way  
of thinking," and once more, "I repeat  
and as a preacher who is anxious to drive  
home his preaching I am entitled to re-  
peat." "In the place of religion Social  
Democracy puts a systematic conception  
of the universe—We of course are mate-  
rialists."

If Comrade Reimer was to advance ob-  
vious truths such as those quoted I am  
afraid that his Catholic "best friends"  
would find their friendship somewhat  
strained. But then, of course, compar-  
isons are odious.

But Dietzgen must not be misunder-  
stood. He would not debar Christians  
from the movement. He well says:—  
"Quite true, one may be an efficient mem-  
ber of the party and at the same time a  
"critical philosopher" or even a Christian.  
The human soul is such a queer thing that  
it can easily find some sort of concilia-  
tion between the veriest contradictions.  
And not only in things philosophical and  
religious but also in things economical a  
great measure of heresy is permitted.  
We must in practice be tolerant to the ex-  
treme and surely no Social Democrat  
would ever think of putting any Party  
member into the straitjacket of uni-  
formity. Nevertheless theoretical uni-  
formity must be demanded of all who de-  
vote themselves to scientific investigation.  
Theoretical uniformity, systematic homo-  
geneity is the consummation to be desired  
as well as the advantage of all science.  
That Social Democracy is scientific and  
science is Social Democracy will I hope be  
granted by my esteemed opponent."

This is as it should be. Members are  
admitted to the Socialist Party if they ad-  
here to a belief in the class struggle.  
This is the crucial doctrine, because once  
admitted they are, as it were, sitting on  
the opposition benches correctly orientated  
towards the ruling class, their econ-  
omic interests manifestly conflicting. But  
their class education is but commencing.  
They have to learn of the Materialist Con-  
ception of History, of surplus value and  
not only study Marx and Engels in the  
matter of Socialist Economics, but Dietz-  
gen in the matter of Socialist Philosophy.  
Having mastered them in a general way  
at least, so as to be "en rapport to the  
spirit" (as our Spiritualist friends would  
say) of the movement, they may be con-  
sidered out of danger, as far as theory is  
concerned.

We must separate ourselves completely  
from Capitalist philosophy, we must —  
"come out from among them. Be ye not  
of them."

My critics misunderstood my meaning  
when I spoke of man constructing his  
economic environment from his material  
environment, and also my remark on brain  
development. They say that my ideas  
are standing on their head, "which the  
same is very sad"—as the author of  
"Leadville Nights" would say.

It reminds me of the story of the Sun-  
day School teacher who asked her class  
who was the mother of Moses? After a  
pause little Tommy said "Pharaoh's  
daughter." "Oh, no, Tommy," replied  
the teacher. "Pharaoh's daughter found  
him in the bulrushes near the river bank."  
"Oh," said Tommy, "that's what she  
said." So my ideas may not after all be  
in an unnatural position.

What I meant was that Man when face  
to face with nature and before the days

of class struggles was enabled, solely by  
reason of his superior brain development,  
which in turn is due to his physical struc-  
ture, to wrest from nature the means of  
subsistence and overcome his brute ene-  
mies, though far more powerful. From  
this crude beginning, he constructs his  
economic environment or higher form of  
society, as compared with animal life. In  
the same way by "consciousness" I mean  
the mental quality due to brain organisa-  
tion, not its exercise as meant by Marx.  
Economic causes did not originate con-  
sciousness, that was the work of Pro-  
toplasm, but its development is no doubt  
encouraged or hindered by material and  
economic environment. The statement is  
purely a Materialist one ante dating history  
and referring solely to very primitive  
conditions.

My critics also say — "We hold that  
philosophy as well as religion is but a  
reflex of the real world—hence a changed  
conception on philosophy comes of itself  
with the changed conception on econo-  
mics."

"Comes of itself" like Manna in the  
camps of Israel or like the rain which fall-  
eth on the just and unjust indiscrimina-  
tely. There can be no doubt that this is  
a misinterpretation of the Materialist  
Conception of History. In a series of ar-  
ticles he wrote in 1890, Engels says on this  
question: — "Marx and I are partly re-  
sponsible for the fact that the younger  
men have sometimes laid more stress on  
the economic side than it deserves. In  
meeting the attacks of our opponents it  
was necessary for us to emphasise the  
dominant principle denied by them; and  
we did not always have the time, place, or  
opportunity to let other factors, which  
were concerned in the mutual action and  
reaction, get their deserts."

In another letter he says:—

"According to the material view of his-  
tory the factor, which is in the last in-  
stance decisive in history is the produc-  
tion and reproduction of actual life.  
More than this Marx nor I have ever as-  
serted. But when anyone distorts this so  
as to read that the economic factor is the  
sole element, he converts the statement in-  
to a meaningless, abstract, absurd phrase.  
The economic condition is the basis, but  
the various elements of the superstructure  
—the political forms of the class contests  
and their results, the constitutions—the  
legal forms and also all the reflexes of  
these actual contests in the brains of the  
participants, the political legal, philoso-  
phical theories, the religious views — all  
these exert an influence on the develop-  
ment of the historical struggles and in  
many instances determine their form."

Here the human factor is adequately  
recognised and reflex actions and effects  
duly regarded as of no mean importance.  
We might suspect that much, seeing how  
the ruling class strain every effort in po-  
litical contests and subsidise press and pul-  
pit so as to manufacture sentiment in con-  
formity with their economic interests.  
They know that favourable popular senti-  
ment is the best protection; they know  
that physical force is only useful against  
dissatisfied minorities, but dangerous if  
applied to discontented majorities. With-  
out the aid of its reflex offspring in Press  
and Pulpit it is doubtful if Capitalism  
could long survive. **It governs by fraud,  
only incidentally by force.** Behind it is  
the vast mass of the community, who may  
demand at times certain alterations but  
are in no mood for revolution.

The one thing needful is an intellectual  
revolution in the minds of the working  
class, first in the matter of economics, then  
of sentiment generally. In proportion as  
this is achieved we will achieve partial or  
complete success. No system can rise  
above the average level of intelligence.

F. SUTHERLAND.

## COMRADE SCOTT BENNETT.

Comrade Scott Bennett, so well known  
to the Socialists of Australia and New  
Zealand, is now editor of the "Socialist  
World," printed at Seattle, Washington.  
He continues to do active lecturing propa-  
ganda in the United States.

## SOCIALIST HALL

369 Pitt Street.

Lecture, Sunday March 25th.

Com. J. COOK.

"The Russian Revolution".



## Labor and the Control of Industry.

Of the many suggestions for meeting the industrial situation after the war there is one that, because of its novel and "revolutionary" character, is receiving considerable attention. It is that of conceding to Labour a share in the control of industry. Curiously enough, the suggestion emanates from both capitalist and Labour sources. That fact in itself is a sufficient reason for suspecting that there is something wrong with it. On the one side it is proposed as a means of establishing industrial peace. It was put forward in this way by Mr. Neville Chamberlain in his address of welcome to the Trade Union Congress at Birmingham. If the suggestion were adopted, he urged, employers would get to understand the desires of Labour and workers would understand the difficulties and responsibilities of Capital. Thus a clear bond of union and co-operation would be developed between Capital and Labour to their mutual advantage. On the other side it is sought by this means to avoid the ill-effects of the bureaucratic management that come with the development of the functions of the State in industry. In this connection the postal workers are putting forward a strong demand for a share in the control of the Post Office. There are also several resolutions on the agenda for the Labour Party conference next month making similar demands for effective control in both State and private industry.

It is not quite clear what either side means by control. Does it mean that Labour is to have a share in conducting the business of producing, buying, and selling? Or is control to be limited to matters of hours, wages, and the general conditions of labour? In either case, however, it will be found that the suggestion offers no advantage to Labour, but would, indeed, be harmful. Agreement to any proposal to share the control of industry can only come from a lack of a thorough understanding of the relations between workers and employers. The hostility between Capital and Labour does not arise from any misunderstanding, but is created by the system of producing wealth for profit. Profit is derived from the unpaid labour of the workers. The relation of employers and employed is therefore one of exploiters and exploited. Participation in the management of industry under present conditions means for Labour participation in its own exploitation. For, however large the share of control may be, and accompanied though it may be by a share in the profits, the exploitation would still continue, and the antagonisms provoked by it would persist in asserting themselves. The representatives of Labour sitting on the boards of management, instead of acting in the interests of the workers, would be confronted by them, and in opposition to them. Instead of resisting the domination of Capital, they would become dominators. The effects of the operation of such a scheme on the Labour movement would be stultifying.

The same considerations apply to State industries. The case for Nationalisation as against private ownership cannot be put here. The evils of bureaucratic administration, however, are admitted. These do not arise from anything in the nature of national ownership, but from the fact that the modern State is representative of the dominant class. The capitalist State enters into industry not to abolish profit-making, but to assist it. It stands in relation to its employees in exactly the same position as private employers. The participation of Government employees in the management of Government industries would result in their representatives becoming part of that bureaucracy the painful effects of whose management participation seeks to avoid. The whole question is analogous to that of whether a working-class political party should be represented in the Cabinet of a capitalist Government. The decisions of International Congresses have been against taking office, and experience in England and France during the war has confirmed the wisdom of those decisions. Viewed from the standpoint of the class struggle, the situation is perfectly clear. The working class, by virtue of being wage-workers, are in perpetual conflict with the capitalist system. Every progressive move on the part of the organised workers is in effect an attack on that system. The purpose of the working class ultimately is to overthrow the system and take complete control of industry in the interests of the whole people. Labour, therefore, cannot take any share in the

## As To Politics.

### Jingoism and Race Prejudice.

NOW LET US ALL CHEER FOR THE GRAND OLD LABOR PARTY.

(Written for the "International Socialist" by J. A. D. Melbourne.)

The world of politics is but the reflex of the economic world. Here it is that the conflicting economic interests fight out their disputes in a civilised manner—an evolution from the days when the feudal barons sent their serfs out to battle against their neighbours. To-day such disputes are fought out in Parliament and the Law Courts. The Government of the day is but the executive of the dominant economic power.

As one writer says, "the typical politician is a non-producer; he is a parasite on the body of labor, and a necessary mercenary of capital, and we can always predict his course, provided we know the economic interests by which he is supported. Under normal conditions he is an inveterate foe of labor and all propositions favoring the increase of wages." Under normal conditions, he it observed, for while the dominant economic power—be it land or industrial—can guarantee his living, his function is to teach the moral duty of "letting well alone."

Labour has little economic power, because the workers are not effectively organised on industrial lines; yet, such is the power of the ballot (which was wrong from the feudal aristocracy by the then rising bourgeois capitalist class, and given to the workers to help to aid the bourgeoisie to defeat the landed aristocracy), that even with the workers unorganised as they are in Australia to-day, something can be saved for them of their liberty.

Truly Capitalism rarely ever allows a vital question to be put before the people to vote on. The "Argus" pointed out that it was a "terrible mistake" to allow the Conscription issue to be put before the electors.

On the Conscription issue, half of the so-called Labor politicians openly and basely deserted the workers—true to their parasitic function of being dominated by the interests of the employing class. **Had the employing class been united, there would have been no dissolution of Parliament just now.** Let the workers watch the official Labor politicians carefully and closely. The rift in the lute was plainly evident as soon as the Hughes-Cook cabinet was formed. So soon as the Protectionist interests and their mouthpieces, the "Age," discovered that the seven (7) leading portfolios out of eleven (11) had been filled by Freetraders, patriotism and honor, and all the rest of the sentimental slush that is dealt out to the workers, faded into insignificance before the interests of profit.

management of capitalist industries. To do so would be an act of retrogression, and its effect would be to retard the growth of the Labour movement.

The proposal does not become more acceptable if control is to be limited to shop conditions. Shop conditions is the term that generally has reference to hours, wages, and output, and may include such things as the provision of dining-room, lavatories, baths near mines, and so on. As a means of securing control over these matters it is suggested that workers in each shop elect their own foreman. While on the face of it this proposal seems democratic and "advanced," it is, in fact, valueless. A foreman, apart from acting as the director of the various processes operating in his department, is the representative of the "firm" in the shop. From the nature of his position he is the boss's man. Whether he is elected by the workers or not, he must still act in that capacity, and must therefore be brought into conflict with the workers. As members of a union foremen are more often a source of weakness than of strength. The position of a foreman who desires to remain loyal to his class is a difficult one. The maintenance of good conditions is the primary function of trade unions. The level at which those conditions are maintained depends on the strength of the union. Every improvement in conditions obtained by the union is forced from the employer. Sometimes employers will concede improvements in order to defeat the union. The maintenance of good

The dissolution of Parliament came about because it suits the dominant capitalist interests in Australia to-day. Let the workers take heed that they are not used as the catspaws of the industrial kings of Australia. Let them ask themselves what good thing they have ever got from the Labor Party, national or official. Let them remember that Conscription is still in force in Australia, although overseas Conscription was turned down.

We have it on the authority of Mr. Archibald, M.H.R., that the reason why the Government lost their majority in the Senate, immediately after their manoeuvre in obtaining that majority by the resignation of Senator Ready, was that Senators Bakhap and Keating were influenced by "a big interest—not money—but for a big interest." It was not the Kaiser or Germanic, or Roman Catholic interests, for, as Mr. Archibald pointed out, "there are more interests besides the Pope's."

As the manifesto of the Australasian Socialist Party points out, "the Labor Party is no longer a working class party; it is the party of the rising Australian manufacturers." The industrial capitalists are, therefore, the "big interest" referred to.

It was the Labor Party who was responsible for compulsory arbitration in Australia. Both State and Federal platforms had it included in their list of palliatives. All the dangers that the Socialists warned the workers of have come to pass. The logical result of tying themselves up by "agreements" registered with capitalist Courts, and so giving up the right to strike, has been fines and gaol for the workers as penalties for breaking the law.

The Labor Party fosters jingoism and encourages race prejudice, thus splitting up the workers of the world into hostile groups and sacrificing working class solidarity to bolster up the interests of the Australian manufacturers.

We have it on the authority of the "Age" that there is no patriotism in business. Capital knows no country. As P. Dunning, quoted by Marx, points out, "With adequate profit, capital is very bold. A certain 10 per cent. will insure its employment anywhere; 20 per cent. will produce eagerness; 50 per cent. positive audacity; 100 per cent. will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 300 per cent., and there is not a crime at which it will scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged."

shop conditions is not the mutual concern of employers and workers. It is the ground of conflicting interests. It follows, therefore, that the interests of the workers can be conserved not by sharing in the management of the employers' business, but by reserving a complete independence of it. The representative of the workers in the shop cannot be the foreman, but the shop steward acting solely in the interest of the union. It is gratifying to note that this view is adopted in a resolution for the Labour Party Conference standing in the name of the Doncaster Trades and Labour Council. It is to be hoped that the Conference will have sense enough to pass this resolution, and in that way counteract the absurd decision of the Trade Union Congress to endeavour to establish a truce between Capital and Labour.

The chief factor in the development of a virile working-class movement is the awakening of the class-consciousness of the workers. The workers will not be encouraged to realise their class position by a movement that regards the interests of employers and employed as mutual. Only the complete independence of Labour in politics and industry and the vigour of the "fight" will bring about the awakening that will enable it to see the possibility of controlling industry completely in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

—J. Fineberg, in the "Call," London.

## The Issue.

### SOCIALISM v. WAGE SLAVERY.

The elections are here again, State and Federal. The working class have but one issue to face, cloud that issue in what manner you may, the intelligent members of the working class can perceive no other than Socialism v. Capitalism.

To show that this issue is the only one worth the consideration of any intelligent working man or woman it becomes necessary to state the Socialist and anti-Socialist position.

Prior to the election of Labor majorities in Australia the Revolutionary Socialists were laughed to scorn when they criticised the Labor Party and their reforms. We were told that with the election of a Labor majority to place and power, the burden of the working class would be introduced in the interest of the Labor party legislating in the interest of all classes of the community and, that beneficial industrial and social reforms would be introduced in the interest of the working class.

Arbitration courts for fixing wages and fining striking workers; price fixing by Government instead of directly by big businesses; a few bankrupt concerns bought out by the State, and political friends appointed to the administrative staff of the so-called socialised industries; Canvas Town; Daceyville; and rent fixing by "Fair" Rents Courts, etc.

These are the reforms we are told would materially assist the working class, but, despite these "reforms" of the past six years, the working class are in a far worse position to-day. Is it not a fact that despite the fixing of commodities (labor and material) our class receive less to-day in proportion to what they produce, than before the election of our reform friends.

The working standard of living has been considerably reduced, necessitating incessant striking to endeavor to maintain the standard of existence resulting in the fining and imprisonment of workers.

We are now being told that the Labor Party has now been cleansed—that it has reformed itself—but when we see the progressive Labor Senators voting in favor of the Unlawful Association Act, an Act similar to Charles Gregory Wade's Unlawful Assemblage Act, we Revolutionary Socialists can only form the logical conclusion that this party is pure and simply a reform Capitalist Party, that deserves the condemnation of all members of the working class who pretend to have the least spark of self respect.

Now, the Socialist Party is not a party that would allow members to enact conscription laws and a few years later declare on the hustings that they were anti-conscriptionists.

We Socialists are not in politics for the purpose of obtaining majorities in Parliament and enacting laws. We do not propose to get the workers' higher wages or lower prices, but we are out to abolish wage slavery and Capitalist exploitation, with that end in view we accept a civilised means of testing our strength and recruiting the necessary forces for the coming Social Revolution.

The force necessary to bring about the social ownership of the means of production and distribution is the organisation of class conscious workers into Industrial Unions.

With this force and the political wing to shield it, a change of ownership and its necessary corollary, change of administration of the industries will be possible.

The political wing of Socialism to destroy the political State, with its representation by geographical areas and the industrial organisation as the superstructure to replace it.

This then is what Socialism means, the abolition of political Government, to be substituted by the administration of industry by the working class.

By a worker functioning in industry he would have the right to determine his conditions in industry—this is economic freedom.

Revolutionary Socialists are those people who desire this economic change and who refuse to be side-tracked by so-called reformists who assist to perpetuate the present form of society which allows a few individuals to control our lives like so much merchandise.

Continued on page 4.



## The Issue.

Continued from page 3.

It will be seen that Socialism and Nationalism are two totally different things.

Socialism will emancipate the working class from wage-slavery. Nationalisation will only enfold us more in its toils.

Practically all the belligerent countries in Europe are becoming Nationalised; the tools of production are being operated by the State in the interest of the Capitalist class, but this is no more Socialism than the big trusts of America.

The Proletariat is not confined to a particular country, but he is scattered over the entire universe, therefore for Socialism to be actually possible the working class must be organised internationally, politically and industrially, having for their objective the abolition of the profit system and the inauguration of the Universal Industrial Republic.

The Socialist Party by running candidates in opposition to the Labor candidates will be enabled to ascertain how many electors desire International Socialism, and how many are agreeable to exist under National Capitalism and wage slavery.

## "CHRONICLES OF THE CITY OF MUCH TALK."

(By "Hugh Wolverley.")

## Chapter I.

Lo, here I am again, returned from a vain search for the promised land.

And I resume my chronicles of the city of much talk.

For verily have my chronicles been missed, and many mighty deeds remained unrecorded.

It was the twenty-fourth day of the third month of the year of "much talk" that a great commotion arose.

For, lo, a poll was to be taken with a view to getting the voters' opinions as to whom should serve in the "Halls of the Legislature," and professedly serve the people and govern the "class state" in the interests of Wall-street.

And the "chosen people" and the gentiles, contended they every inch, and profane men talked of "William the Orator"—what he would and what he would not do should he be the elect of the State. Saying, they, one to the other: "He is the best friend the lawyers have ever had."

And it came to pass in the city which is called Sydney, which is near the Port called Jackson, as we tarried on the outer, which is called the suburbs.

There, by Parramatta, which is near unto the river, we beheld many slaves, and went into their camp, saying: "Repent ye, for the rule of the 'Graft Unions'—neareth an end." And as we spoke unto them, they marvelled, saying: "Who are these men that they cast out our political Saviours?" and wise men of the "Grades Hall," casting out devils in the name of "Revolutionary Socialism."

And they were sore afraid, lest their masters beheld them listening to the "gospel of Socialism," whereby they could save themselves.

And seeing their plight, we went our way rejoicing. And it came to pass as we went our way casting out "Superstition," "Grasp Libs" and "Hard Labor Solids," that we came unto the city, which is called Newtown, where were multitudes of slaves. And we spake unto them, saying: "Man gets but little here below, and if ye would that ye have more, organise into the Industrial Union and strike at the ballot box against wage slavery. Right without might is the plaything of kings. Might without right is the sport of the savage. Organise into the political party of Socialism, which is called the A.S.P."

Whereupon, we took ourselves apart from the multitudes and came nearer the city unto a place called Camperdown, where a "roaring bull" was pouring forth his fervor on "anti-Teutonism." Methought, "Samivel Weller" in Dickens has made good his "second time on earth." There we found, also, a man who had been "robbed of his vote" by the Macquarie-street plotters. Wherefore, we gave him "Gump Mulligan" and much good advice, that he might return and join the political party of his class. And we journeyed on our way, taking neither wallet nor staff, but only overalls and labor power, that we might give the master of our best service for the weekly dole, and all these things, that the word of the revolutionist might be fulfilled. "That man owns not his job, and that he is a slave, anyhow."

A. S. P.  
NEWS AND NOTES.

## MELBOURNE BRANCH.

## MELBOURNE BRANCH.

In the expectation of seeing in the witness box a Prime Minister, an archbishop and the editor of a "great daily," Melbourne District Court, on March 6th, was crowded with Socialists and Laborites. The only one of this distinguished trinity of public men to appear was Mr. Schuler, editor of the "Age," a worried looking little man with a bald head.

However, no witnesses were called for the defence in this case of N. Anderson and Fred Holland, who were charged under the War Precautions Act with having abetted in the publication of statements likely to prejudice the recruiting of His Majesty's forces.

Mr. Magennis, Counsel for defence, asked for an adjournment of the case in the absence of a witness, W. M. Hughes, who, he said, was not as an ordinary citizen privileged to be absent. The Police Magistrate, Mr. Goldsmith, however, refused to grant an adjournment after the Crown Prosecutor had read an affidavit of W. M. Hughes to the effect that he was too busy to attend the court—(derisive laughter)—and prayed to be excused, as he was unable to give any relevant evidence.

The leaflet which formed the subject of the prosecution and which advertised an anti-war demonstration on Yarra Bank, was printed and distributed by N. Anderson, Hon. Sec. of Melbourne Branch, and Comrade Fred Holland.

The detectives told the Court that on visiting 47 Victoria-street, one of the defendants said, after the seizure of a number of the leaflets and a quantity of type, Of course, Socialists contend that under a different social system than the present, there would be no war.

Comrade Anderson was fined £20 with £33s. costs, or two months' imprisonment. Fred Holland, £50 fine, or four months' gaol. Stay of proceedings was granted for one month. They were also ordered to enter into a recognisance of £100 each that "they would not produce any similar publications for a month."

One amusing incident occurred during the hearing of this case. The Crown Prosecutor, while addressing the Bench, suddenly stopped, and glaring at the defendants seated opposite him, asked His Worship to "request these two men to stop grinning at him."

Thereupon, defendants moved their positions, and were good boys for the rest of the hearing.

By a strange coincidence, while the great want at present in this branch is competent outdoor speakers. There are several members doing their share of propaganda work, especially on Friday evenings, at Richmond, but these are not enough.

More are needed for the Yarra Bank on Sundays, where hundreds of the working class assemble, waiting for knowledge of the way out of the present tangle of affairs, industrial and political.

In the words of a great poet:

"The hungry sheep look up and are not fed."

Laborites, and Laborites in Socialist disguises, men of God, the exponent of anarchy, I.W.W. speakers, all have their platforms at the Bank on Sunday. The average worker, if he thinks at all on his own industrial and political conditions, wishes some speaker could show him the light.

For want of more speakers than this branch possesses just now, the message of Socialism does not reach the working class of Melbourne with the power and vigor necessary for the emancipation of these wealth-producers of the world.

Our lectures on Sunday evenings are well attended, but a labour politician dealing out personalities, and the blessings of craft unionism will always command bigger audiences anywhere than a speaker on Socialism as the cure for all industrial evils and destroyer of militarism.

This branch, however, has done fine work in issuing leaflets, anti-war, and on the class struggle, though the hon. sec. and another member have been prosecuted by the Defence Department for their educative work in this direction.

Four of this branch's members are virile, live writers in the columns of the I.S., and Inter-State correspondents have testified to the writer of these notes, "the magnificent style" in which our members state the position of "religion is a private matter," and of "industrial unionism."

Whether by speech or by pen, if the message of Socialism gets to the working-class, the result will be what this party is, after all, working for.

## Labor the creator.

"In the Beginning Was Work."  
Man and Nature—Useful Labor and Useless Parasites—A Little Talk to Wage-Slaves—What is the Materialistic Conception of History?

(Written for the "International Socialist" by J.A.D., Melbourne.)

Work is the true god of history.  
Labor, alone, is the creator of Value; that is the exchange and use-value expressed in price.

All use-values, used as a means of production, supplied by Nature without human assistance, have no exchange value and hence no market price. In this class is land, water, metals in situ, and timber in virgin forests. So soon as human labor is expended, directly or indirectly, or any of these, then they begin to have value and hence price. In this class is water in reservoirs, pipes, and irrigation channels; land improved directly by labor or indirectly by railways, roads, etc.; metals that have been mined or have been washed out in a fossicker's dish—all these have a price, which, though it fluctuates according to supply and demand, coincides on the average over a given period to the value of the commodity, which value is the amount of socially necessary labor embodied in it.

That labor must be socially necessary is a condition of value. A steamboat built on the top of a mountain, or an advertising hoarding erected on an uninhabited island are freaks, and although they have labor expended on them, it is not socially necessary labor; rather, it is wasted labor and hence such has no value.

Marx points out that labor is not the only source of material wealth:—

"If we take away the useful labor expended on commodities, there is always a material substratum left, which is furnished by Nature without the help of man. Man can work only as Nature does, that is by changing the form of matter. Nay, more, in this work of changing the form he is constantly helped by natural forces . . . As William Petty puts it:—Labor is the father, and the earth the mother."

We see, then, that, "so far, therefore, as labor is a creator of use, value is useful labor, it is a necessary condition, independent of all forms of society, for the existence of the human race; it is an eternal nature—imposed necessity, without which there can be no material exchanges between Man and Nature, and, therefore, no life.

Labor, then, is the true god of history that unites Nature and Man, and so the Materialist Interpretation of History is our creed.

## What is the Materialist Conception of History?

Briefly this: The system of production prevailing in any society dominates, as a rule, the social, political and intellectual life of men in general.

The Capitalist method of production dominates social, political and moral life today. In past centuries the Barbarian, and later, the Feudal system dominated.

(To be continued.)

Angus McDonnell was the speaker on Sunday, 11th inst., and his subject, "What is the cause of poverty?" Summed up in an interesting, breezy address, the answer was: "The whole cause of poverty is in one class producing, but not owning all the commodities of the world."

The speaker defined the term, a fair day's wage, to mean, "all that the worker earns" (not a third of it as at present). He recalled a prophecy of Tom Mann, made in 1907, that in 10 years' time there would be the greatest war in history for supremacy of trade.

Archbishops and Prime Ministers, also a portion of the Capitalist press, are privileged to agree with Tom Mann, but Socialists have to be more guarded in voicing similar opinions, if they wish to escape the notice of the censor.

J.M., Press Corr.

## IMPORTANT.

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In future, every subscriber whose subscription to this paper expires will duly receive by post printed notice to that effect, and the practice of using red wrappers will be discontinued.

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THE  
Australasian  
Socialist Party.

## SOCIALIST HALL.

369 PITT STREET, SYDNEY

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SUNDAY

Speaker

Subject

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